

Congolese National Liberation Front

*Revolutionary Vanguard and
Fighting Arm of the Congolese People*

THE PEOPLE
WITHOUT THE PEOPLE

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES
CONQUER OR DIE



ELNC

**History, Statutes and Minimum
Program of the Congolese National
Liberation Front**

"Between liberty and slavery, there is no compromise."

— Patrice E. Lumumba

BOSTON UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

JQ
3406
A9SF44
1990z
Cap. 1

PART I
THE HISTORY OF THE CONGOLESE NATIONAL LIBERATION
FRONT

PART II
STATUTES OF THE CONGOLESE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT

PART III
MINIMUM POLITICAL PROGRAM OF THE CONGOLESE NATIONAL
LIBERATION FRONT

Congolese National Liberation Front
U.S. Section
P.O. Box 2919
Grand Central Station
New York, N.Y. 10007

national army. The Prime Minister himself was not opposed to this idea and was convinced that it would help to safeguard the country's territorial integrity. In strict historical terms, one cannot properly speak of "Katangese Gendarmes" from that time on.

In fact, two important changes had taken place. On the one hand, the "Katangese Question" became a thing of the past with the elimination of the secessionist State already referred to. At the same time the "Spirit of Katanga" was destroyed when Tshombe took the post of Prime Minister.

The re-integration of the Gendarmes was total. In 1964 they were scattered over the country in several battalions. Mobutu gave instructions first that they should be strictly watched and, secondly, that actions should be taken which would gradually lead to their "elimination". The Congolese soldiers who had been re-integrated only became aware of the treatment which was intended for them after the fact. Despite their re-integration, all sorts of arbitrary measures were taken against them. Two years later, after the massacre ordered by Mobutu at Camp d'Irebu (Kisangani) in August-September of 1966, some of them became dissidents.

But the re-integrated gendarmes were not alone in revolting. They were joined by other Congolese soldiers.

Those who remained faithful to Mobutu's army did not fare any better in the long run. One group joined the white mercenaries who rebelled against the authority of the central government. That rebellion took place in Kisangani in July 1967.

After the defeat of the white mercenaries and their retreat to Rwanda, President Mobutu ordered an amnesty for the dissident Congolese soldiers who had rebelled with them. The General Secretary of the Organization of African Unity and the International Red Cross in Geneva guaranteed this amnesty.

Of the three thousand dissident Congolese soldiers who accepted the amnesty and returned to Kinshasa, only twelve survived the massacre ordered by Mobutu. They soon took refuge in Angola, where there were other Congolese. The Portuguese authorities who ruled Angola at the time granted them

asylum.

From that time on, Mobutu found himself the master of nothing but chaos in the Congo. One former high official of the central government has stated that he once received instructions from General Mobutu to execute the dissidents at the rate of twenty-five a day.

Following the dictatorial regime's repeated acts of injustice, many persons began to flee the Congo and to take refuge abroad, notably in the neighboring countries: Congo-Brazzaville, Uganda, the Sudan, Tanzania, Burundi, Zambia and Rwanda, as well as Angola.

Thus there were large numbers of Congolese refugees in Angola in a situation of involuntary exile. On the 19th of June, 1968, they decided to create the CONGOLESE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT: a politico-military movement struggling against the dictatorial power of Mobutu, whose members hope to return to their country after the fall of the regime.

Some time later, the national liberation struggle began in Angola. The Portuguese authorities employed Angolan and Zambian militias to fight against the Angolan nationalists, under the pretext that the latter were communist "invaders".

Congolese refugees were incorporated into these militias. They had no choice but to accept this miserable task, for which they received 90 escudos per month and a promise of material aid for the liberation of our own national territory.

Towards the end of the Portuguese colonial struggle, we were told we could return to our country under a general amnesty decreed by Mobutu or to go to South Africa. We gave a negative reply to both proposals. Our return home could not really be safe under a guarantee from Mobutu. Previous amnesties decreed by Mobutu had proved disastrous, and particularly those decreed for the dissidents in the national army who were in Rwanda in 1967, and for Mulele in Brazzaville in 1969 with the guarantee of the OAU and of the Congo-Brazzaville Government. Those amnestied then were executed.

The offer to go to South Africa was absolutely rejected. We did not wish to be used by the South African racists against our brothers in South Africa

The History of the Congolese National Liberation Front

The CONGOLESE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (F.L.N.C.) is a politico-military organization founded in Angola some years ago by Congolese nationalists wishing to liberate their country, Zaïre, from the despotic regime now in power.

Our movement is the foremost among the opposition parties of "Zaïre". It is the only movement which has formed a true liberation army. That army, through a well defined program, is capable of liberating the "zaïrois" people from the poverty and sufferings inflicted upon it by the one-man dictatorship of the "Zaïrois" regime.

The CONGOLESE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT has its headquarters in the country and counts among its members many well-trained militants from every region and ethnic group in the Congo-Zaïre. From the center of the Movement we must watch over our "Zaïrois" compatriots each day, men and women who sometimes flee the length of the country to find a place in the Front.

Our revolutionary Movement has issued an invitation to all patriotic persons wishing to work with us to struggle for peace and democracy in the Congo-Zaïre.

HOW WAS THE FRONT BORN IN ANGOLA?

The Front was born in Angola in June 1968. It should be recalled that the Katangese secession ended in January 1963. A part of the Katangese Gendarmerie had been re-integrated at that time into the Congolese national army as a result of General Mobutu's guarantee that they would retain their various ranks within his army. Mobutu did not keep his promises and caused the Katangese Gendarmes who had joined his army to be badly treated.

In 1964, Tshombe, the former President of Katanga who had become Prime Minister in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, issued an appeal to all the former Katangese Gendarmes who had taken refuge in Angola. They were told that Mobutu insisted absolutely that they must rejoin the Congolese

and Namibia. The latter were struggling for the independence of their country, the former for their most sacred rights: human dignity and the just redistribution of the resources of their country.

As Angola approached its independence, we realized that we faced three choices if we were to stay in Angola: we could support the NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (F.N.L.A.), the NATIONAL UNION FOR TOTAL INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA (U.N.I.T.A.) or the POPULAR MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ANGOLA (M.P.L.A.).

We decided to support the M.P.L.A. militarily. That choice was made for two reasons: first of all, because we could not ally ourselves with the F.N.L.A. or U.N.I.T.A., as both had collaborated with the Mobutu regime, which was our enemy. Secondly, because, after an analysis of the struggles conducted by the three liberation movements, we concluded that only the struggle of the M.P.L.A. was a just one. It aimed at putting an end to the system of exploitation which had been imposed upon the Angolan people. We therefore decided to give our blood for the just and legitimate cause of the Angolan people under the leadership of the M.P.L.A. in order to demonstrate our belief in the system of a country which wishes to be truly independent.

Our organization is composed of members from every region of the Congo-Zaire. This is yet another reason which demonstrates that we are nationalists, it is wrong and spiteful to consider us secessionists.

Furthermore, we appeal to world opinion to confirm for itself what has been said above and to see that, in reality, the integration of the Katangese into the Congolese national flock was complete. Thus Moise Tshombe was installed as Prime Minister at the head of a *national* Congolese government with all his collaborators.

We are fighting to free all of Congo-Zaire and not just one of its regions. What more must we do to demonstrate to the people of the Congo, and then to the world, that we are sincere in our determination to liberate our country from the tyranny which the fascist regime has imposed to oppress it?

Only the vow of determination that we make here, that sheds light on what we really believe, is enough to demonstrate the ideals which inspire us.

We call the attention of the Congolese people and of the entire world to the fact that we have proved our determination and our fighting ability. We have fought at the side of the M.P.L.A. against the reactionary forces of the F.N.L.A., which is composed in large part of "Zairis", as well as against U.N.I.T.A., supported by their racist South African allies.

We have allowed ourselves to set out above a brief historical account of the origin of the Front. This is to show national and international opinion that the birth of the Front is justified by the dictatorial politics of Mobutu, politics which are the foundation of the system by which international imperialism exploits our people. Our account shows that there is no basis in fact for believing or making others believe that our Movement seeks in any way to continue the Congolese secession.

At the same time, the Front very much regrets the total silence of international opinion in the matter of the sufferings of the "Zairis" people, who have been subjected to a shameless exploitation and a dictatorship unprecedented in human history.

In this document, the CONGOLESE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT, addresses an appeal to all countries, to all friendly political parties as well as to all progressive organizations to give us their moral and political support. Our struggle for freedom is a just and legitimate struggle aimed at rescuing the Congolese people from the system of exploitation in which they are trapped.

The Statutes of the Congolese National Liberation Front

CHAPTER I: GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Article 1. The creation of the CONGOLESE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (F.L.N.C.) represents the triumph of the thought of Patrice Lumumba, the logical consequence of the political experience of the Congolese people in the neocolonial situation to which the Congo-Kinshasa has been subjected since independence on June 30, 1960.

Article 2. THE F.L.N.C. is the vanguard revolutionary organization of the people of Congo-Kinshasa, which is known today as the Republic of Zaïre.

The purpose of the F.L.N.C. is to regroup all of the active forces of the country, notably the peasants, the workers and the revolutionary intellectuals, in order to build a popular political-military FRONT. Its fundamental task is to lead a national liberation struggle which will bring about the annihilation of the fascist dictatorship now in power in Kinshasa, and institute in its place a popular government which will end the regime of exploitation of man by man imposed upon our people by imperialism and its total lackeys.

Article 3. The F.L.N.C. is a revolutionary and a progressive movement. It seeks to become the leading nucleus of the Congolese people, drawing its power from the masses of workers and peasants, the militants and the revolutionary intellectuals resolutely committed to the struggle for total independence, democracy and socialism.

The F.L.N.C. exists for the people.

It serves the people, that is to say, it serves the exploited masses of the Congolese people.

Three general principles characterize the F.L.N.C.: revolutionary theory, political-military discipline, and a oneness with the masses, a militant solidarity with all the oppressed people struggling in the world.

FIRMLY committed to the struggle of oppressed people, the F.L.N.C. resolutely unites with all parties and movements which pursue the same objectives as it does, and it supports all movements and peoples engaged in the national liberation struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, and imperialism.

CHAPTER II: THE MEMBERS

1. Conditions of Membership—Rights and Obligations

Article 4. Membership in the F.L.N.C.: every worker, every peasant, every combatant, every revolutionary Congolese intellectual, who by virtue of the present Statutes and program of the FRONT, by an act of conviction in the Revolution, seeks membership in the FRONT, to take part actively in the organization of the masses, applying the directives of the FRONT and observing the political-military discipline, may become a member.

Article 5. Every member of the F.L.N.C.:

- must be convinced of the need for constant study and practice, in a living and creative manner, of socialist ideology;
- must at all times and everywhere be an exemplary worker, disciplined and ready for all sacrifices;
- must be particularly vigilant in order to prevent unscrupulous persons, conspirators and opportunists from usurping the direction of the FRONT at any level, and to guarantee that the direction of the FRONT will always remain in the hands of revolutionaries;
- must practice criticism and self-criticism as a method of improving the work of the FRONT;
- must resolutely fight regionalism, tribalism, and divisive work in all its forms;
- must be exemplary in his/her private life;
- must always show vigilance in regard to the subversive activities of imperialism and its local lackeys; and must guard the secrets of the FRONT;
- must not belong to any other political organization independent of the party or to have any link with anti-national, anti-revolutionary or anti-socialist forces.

Article 6. EACH MEMBER of the F.L.N.C. has the right:

- to be elected to the leadership bodies of the FRONT;
- to elect the leadership of the FRONT at his/her level in the party—to take

part in regular meetings of the FRONT, in the discussion of theoretical and practical problems of the politics of the FRONT, to formulate concrete propositions on the work of the FRONT.

2. Errors

Article 7. Simple errors will be defined in the internal regulations of the FRONT.

Article 8. Grave errors are:

- treason of ideological inconsistency;
- refusal to follow directives of the higher organs of the party or voted by the majority;
- divisive work, use of authority for personal ends, abuse of power and corruption;
- the denigration of the FRONT or its members, the divulging of secrets;
- embezzlement of funds, use of the goods of the FRONT for personal ends;
- committing the organization to any end without proper authorization.

3. Sanctions

Article 9. Any member who fails in his/her statutory obligations or who commits breach of the discipline of the FRONT may be the object of the following sanctions:

- loss (with or without forfeiture) of his/her duties;
- temporary exclusion;
- definitive exclusion.

Degenerate and opportunistic elements about whom we possess irrefutable proof will be expelled. Exclusion is decided by the Central Committee of the FRONT.

Article 10. Only the Congress is able to relieve a Member of the Central Committee of his/her duties or to impose probation, suspension or expulsion. In urgent cases, this decision may be made in a meeting of the Central Committee

by a 2/3 majority.

Article 11. In considering the ratification of the expulsion of a member, the organs of the F.L.N.C. must observe the maximum prudence, investigate the acts with the greatest care, scrutinize them carefully and listen with great attention to the explanations of the interested parties.

Article 12. The appropriate section to take disciplinary action is that to which the militant belongs. Suspension and temporary or definitive expulsion entail forfeiture of any elected post.

CHAPTER III: THE ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLE OF THE FRONT

Article 13. The organizational principle of the FRONT is democratic centralism. All members and bodies of the FRONT must accept the strict discipline of the Central Committee, which is elected by the Congress. Individuals must accept the decisions of the organization, the minority those of the majority and the lower levels of leadership those of the upper levels.

The governing bodies at all levels of the FRONT must regularly report on their work to the Congress or the General Assembly. They must seek to understand the views of the masses, both within and outside the FRONT and accept their control.

Every member has the right to address criticism and to make suggestions to the organizations of the FRONT and to the leadership at every level. Every member who is in disagreement with resolutions or instructions from any body of the FRONT has the right to his/her own opinion and the right to address himself/herself directly to the leadership organs up to the level of the Central Committee. An atmosphere must be created in which politics is governed at once by democratic centralism, discipline and freedom. For each there must be a combination of freedom of opinion with a spirit of voluntary acceptance of discipline.

Article 14. The highest leadership body of the FRONT is the Congress of the People and between meetings of the Congress, the Central Committee, which is elected by it.

The leadership organ of the FRONT, on the local level, at the workplace, is the general assembly of members at that level, as well as the Central Committee.

In the Revolutionary Armed Force of the F.L.N.C., leadership is assumed by Battalion, Company and Group Commanders, as well as by a Political Commissar at each level.

General assemblies of the FRONT at every level are convened by committees of the FRONT at that level.

At every level, the convening of general assemblies of the FRONT and the list of members elected to the respective committees must be approved by the governing bodies of the next highest level of the FRONT.

Article 15. The Committees of the Front provide the principal leadership at each level: Local, Army, Company, Factory and Government (Administration). Leadership is exercised in accordance with the principles of discipline, contact with the masses and economy in administration. The specific forms of organization at each level and the concrete tasks assigned to each, will be determined by the FRONT, taking account of objective and subjective conditions at a particular time and place.

CHAPTER IV: THE CENTRAL ORGANIZATION OF THE FRONT

Article 16. The People's Congress meets in Ordinary Session every five years. However, in the present circumstances, considering geography and the clandestine nature of our activity, the Central Committee sits in place of the Congress, carrying on its work. The People's Congress is convened by the President of the Central Committee.

The agenda and the minutes are communicated to members at the opening session of the debates. The People's Congress is sovereign. It hears and approves the reports of the Central Committee.

It defines the principles of politico-military action of the FRONT with respect to issues which arise in the course of the liberation struggle of the Congolese people.

It adopts and modifies the FRONT's statutes.

It ratifies the election of the members of the Political Bureau by the members of the Central Committee of the F.L.N.C.

Article 17. In the present circumstances the Central Committee is and must be the highest organ of the FRONT. It can elect from among its members a Political Bureau composed of at least three and no more than six members. If the President so proposes, the Central Committee can revoke membership in the Political Bureau. The task of the Political Bureau is to formulate and define the political directives to be followed in dealing with current problems, both within and outside the F.L.N.C.

A permanent commission may be created and attached to the Central Committee whose members are Political Commissars. They will have the task of representing the Central Committee in all the bodies of the FRONT.

CHAPTER V

In the framework of its efforts to organize the Congolese masses around its revolutionary program, the F.L.N.C. has created three mass organizations. They are:

O.P.E.C.: the Organization of Congolese Women, whose task is to sensitize the Congolese masses to the political problems of our country;

J.F.L.N.C.: the Youth of F.L.N.C., whose principal object is to help young Congolese to gain an understanding of our national patriotic interests and of the means of defending them;

L.I.N.A.P.I.: the National Pioneers League, which serves the interests of the popular Congolese revolution by preparing Pioneers for their patriotic duties.

The regulations of mass organizations will be in accord with the rules and regulations of the F.L.N.C. The roles of these organizations will be set out by the President of the FRONT.

Article 18. The Central Committee is composed of no less than 25 members and no more than 50 who are elected by the Congress of the People. It is comprised of:

- a President, who is at the same time President of the F.L.N.C. and Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces;
- its Members.

The working of the Central Committee as well as the responsibilities of the various members will be defined by the Regulations of the F.L.N.C. itself.

CHAPTER VI: THE RESOURCES OF THE PARTY

Article 19. The resources of the party come from:

- membership dues;
- gifts from friends of the FRONT.

CHAPTER VII: REVISION OF THE PRESENT STATUTES AND HEADQUARTERS

Article 20. The Headquarters of the F.L.N.C. has been provisionally fixed at a location known to all members. It may be transferred, as a result of a decision by the Central Committee, to any other location within the National Territory.

Article 21. The Central Committee alone is qualified to revise or modify the present Statutes.

Minimum Political Program of the Congolese National Liberation Front

The national liberation struggle led by the Congolese National Liberation Front (F.L.N.C.) has the following political objectives:

1. To fight against the present neocolonialist, fascist regime in Kinshasa and against imperialism in general.
2. To set up a republican state and a new democracy which must guarantee the country its independence and the nation its full sovereignty.
3. To work for a better life for the masses of our people, for the consistent satisfaction of the fundamental needs of the Congolese population and for the assurance of social justice to all Congolese without any exception.

To realize this minimum political program, the F.L.N.C. has established an action program of thirteen additional points:

1. To gather all the active forces of the country and carry out a war of national liberation against the present fascist, neocolonialist Mobutu dictatorship against all of the neocolonial powers which might replace him and against imperialism.
2. To form a national democratic government of workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals.
3. To totally eliminate all foreign bases presently in the Congo, and to annul all territorial concessions granted to foreigners.
4. To rebuild national unity which is indispensable for the realization of national independence and the freedom of the Congolese people.
5. To educate the cadres, the fighters and the masses of the people politically and ideologically. This task will go on throughout the war of liberation; it will be pursued after the triumph of the armed struggle to develop in the hearts of the mobilized masses progressive socialist ideas to bring about the completion of the socialist revolution.
6. To reorganize the army, the police, the administration and the public

services, judicial and educational services, so that they will serve the people and respond to the needs of the masses. In addition education and health will be free. The State will take care of all the victims of the war of national liberation as well as their families.

7. To control and orient the whole national economy to assure true economic development of Congo-Kinshasa, with the purpose of progressively elevating the standard of living of the masses and for the consistent satisfaction of the fundamental needs of the whole Congolese population without exception.

For this reason the State will create its own economic structures or national enterprises in all sectors of national economic life. The private sector will be allowed to function in relationship to its effective contributions to the national economic development.

8. To nationalize all social establishments such as hospitals, dispensaries, private schools and other social centers; also organs of the press and information that still issue propaganda at the service of neo-colonialism.

9. To implement agrarian reform, notably by the distribution of agricultural concessions to poor peasants or those who don't have enough, and to put at their disposal the technical means necessary for their work.

10. To eliminate exploitation, corruption, subordination, sickness, ignorance, poverty; to guarantee to all an equal opportunity without consideration to sex, ethnic, tribal and regional origin, to religious and other philosophical beliefs. To establish an educational program and a literacy campaign for the masses of people; to establish in educating the youth a technical and scientific program of high standards that focuses on the positive sciences.

11. To realize equality between man and woman.

12. To abolish duties and taxes which strike the poor; to maintain or fix the work day at eight hours for everyone.

13. To support the liberation struggle of all oppressed people and to develop bonds between the Congolese people and those of Africa in order to realize true African unity.



The powers that are fighting us or fighting my government, under the false pretense that they are fighting communism, are in fact concealing their real intentions. These European powers favor only those African leaders who are tied to their apron strings and deceive their people. Certain of these powers conceive of their presence in the Congo or in Africa only as a chance to exploit their rich resources to the maximum by conniving with certain corrupted leaders.

This policy of corruption whereby every incorruptible leader is called procommunist and every leader who is a traitor to his country pro-Western must be fought.

We don't want to tag along with any bloc. If we aren't careful, we will risk falling into a neocolonialism that would be as dangerous as the colonialism that we buried last June 30. The imperialists' strategy is to maintain the colonial system in the Congo and simply change the cast, as in a stage play, that is to say, replace the Belgian colonialists with neocolonialists who can be easily manipulated.

That is what the imperialists would have us do to obtain their blessing and their support.

—Patrice E. Lumumba